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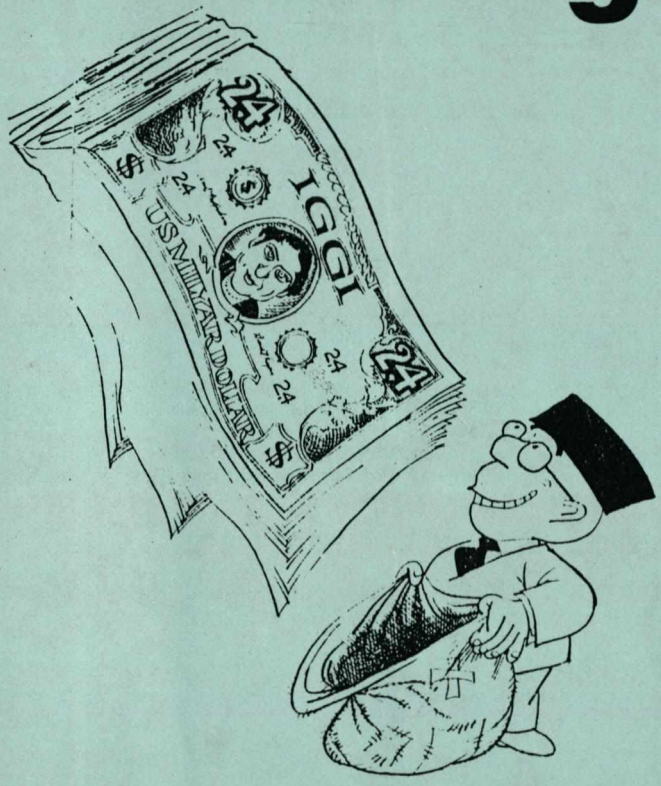
IGGI and Human Rights



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April, 1990

IGGI chairman, Minister Jan Pronk, visits Indonesia

The nine-day visit of Jan Pronk, the Dutch Minister for Development Cooperation, to Indonesia, from 5-14 April, was even more high profile than his visit seventeen years ago which acted as the catalyst for the January 1974 student unrest. The following summary is based on press coverage in the Netherlands and Indonesia:

Events prior to the visit

Jan Pronk visited Indonesia as chair of the IGGI (Inter-Governmental Group on Indonesia), a position held *ex officio* by the Dutch Minister for Development Cooperation. Before the visit, events in Indonesia had created tension in Dutch-Indonesian relations. In February, four long-term political prisoners were executed and another six were reportedly to be executed in March; a wave of protests swept Holland, in Parliament, in public rallies and in the media. In an unprecedented move, Pronk suspended part of a special aid programme, the first time sanctions were used against Indonesia for its record on human rights.

Officially the link between aid and human rights has been an integral part of Dutch government policy since the mid seventies, but implementation has been patchy. Demands in Parliament that the government abandon the policy of silent diplomacy persuaded Pronk to take more positive action. His decision to suspend some of the aid was widely supported in Parliament, not only by his own party, the PvdA (Dutch Labour Party) but by parties right across the political spectrum.

One difficult in pursuing a policy to link human rights with economic sanctions is the question of ministerial responsibility. The issue of human rights falls within the competence of the Foreign Minister, Hans van den Broek who has always been an advocate of silent diplomacy. (Van den Broek is now serving his third term as Foreign Minister.) As a result, the Pronk initiative was not fully backed by the cabinet, a coalition between the CDA (Christian Democrats) van den Broek's party, and PvdA. Less than a year old, the cabinet can be expected to avoid splitting over the issue.

In March, after an announcement that the clemency plea of Asep Suryaman, a death-row prisoner, had been turned down, van den Broek made representations to the Indonesian Government not to go ahead; Pronk refrained from saying anything, holding his fire until he was in Indonesia. The weekend before his departure, he addressed a seminar where he re-affirmed his support for linking aid to human rights. Before his departure it was announced that his itinerary would include meetings with human rights activists. As he left Holland, a group of Indonesians started a hunger strike in a central square in Amsterdam.

The atmosphere in Jakarta

In Jakarta interest in Pronk's visit was intense. Seldom has a foreign visitor been given such extensive press coverage. All aspects were discussed, the executions, the linkage between human rights and aid and the prospects of IGGI aid. For the Indonesian government, Pronk's stand had come as something of a shock. The previous three Dutch ministers who chaired IGGI, de Koning, Schoo and Bukman, were middle-of-the-road politicians who saw IGGI purely as a financial consortium with no interest in social or human rights. Technocrats like Finance Minister J.B. Sumarlin, chairman of the National Planning Board, Saleh Afiff, and

State Secretary Murdiono voiced concern at the possibility of aid cuts. A few days before Pronk's arrival, *Editor* devoted its lead story to the executions and the Pronk visit. From some quarters came the suggestion that if Pronk was planning to transform IGGI into a human rights forum, it should move to Washington, the seat of the World Bank.

Pronk's visit in 1973 as IGGI chair was marked by many incidents. Student protestors demonstrated against Indonesia's increasing dependence on foreign aid. History has repeated itself in 1990. Human rights activists in Yogya and Jakarta greeted Pronk with banners linking IGGI aid to human rights abuses. A student delegation delivered a statement for Minister Pronk to the Dutch embassy in Jakarta, expressing dissatisfaction with the IGGI and the harmful effects of economic aid. Pronk received several statements about human rights abuses including one from LPHAM, the Institute for the Defence of Human Rights and one from INFIGHT, the Indonesian Front for the Defence of Human Rights.

The executions and human rights in general were discussed in meetings with some Indonesian ministers. With Justice Minister Maj. General Ismael Saleh, one of those responsible for the executions, Pronk also raised the question of the harsh sentences passed against Bandung students for protesting against General Rudini's visit to their campus, and the cases of two Yogya students who received seven and eight years for selling books by Pramoedya Ananta Toer and participating in discussions. Ismael Saleh will again be confronted with these problems when he visits the Dutch Parliament in May. With Foreign Minister Ali Alatas, Pronk raised the matter of executions and received the standard answer, that human rights are influenced by the social, political, economic and cultural values in each country.

Throughout his visit, media attention was intense, in Holland as well as in Indonesia. On economic matters, Pronk was full of praise for Indonesia's economic performance; he indicated that special assistance would probably decline due to Indonesia's improved foreign trade position. He was complimentary about health and education but criticised the debt service ratio of 40%. Besides inspecting development projects, he visited the slums of North Jakarta, refusing to talk to people selected by officials and instead asked a garbage worker about his wages. Pronk came over as a minister not interested in sticking to official protocol and rather unconventional in his manner.

Indonesian ministers were clearly determined to make the best of Pronk's visit. Foreign Minister Alatas went out of his way to assure everyone that it was not the intention of the Dutch to link aid to human rights, still less with the executions. None of the generals said anything while Pronk was in Indonesia about foreigners 'meddling in our internal affairs'. It was as if Suharto had instructed everyone to adopt a softly-softly approach; this must have come as a relief to the technocrats. Pronk hinted that IGGI aid this year would be even higher than last year. In 1989, IGGI allocated a total of US$4.3 billion in aid. The most attractive part of this packet was the component called 'special assistance', amounting to US$1.8; it is not tied to any project but earmarked for quick disbursement to help provide rupiah funding for projects. Pronk hinted that special assistance would decline this year and there are signs that it may be phased out altogether in the next year or two.

The Indonesian media spoke quite favourably of Pronk. After his morning stroll in the slums, *Kompas* commented on 11 April that Pronk should be welcomed as representing a new 'humanist' trend in the industrial world. Frankness, openness, concern about global affairs like pollution, social justice, democracy and the inequality of wealth in the world today seemed to be the hallmark, it said. *Editor*, which a week earlier had been reprimanded by the Information Department for its coverage of Pronk and the executions, carried an interview with him on 14 April, in which he stressed the universality of human rights. [Extracts from this interview are given below.]

There were words of welcome even from Indonesia's rubber-stamp parliament (DPR). John Naro, DPR vice-chairman, said the government should open itself to criticism especially if it was constructive. Other DPR members voiced similar sentiments. At the beginning of his visit Pronk publicly criticised the DPR. A DPR mission which visited the Dutch Parliament in February had been closely questioned by all the Dutch political parties about the DPR's inaction regarding human rights, including the imminent threat of executions. Pronk was clearly annoyed when, during his visit to the DPR, he was told that the delegation to Holland had not yet reported its discussion with Dutch parliamentarians. He was told that Indonesian MPs regarded the executions as being a matter for jurists. He said he could not understand why Indonesian MPs knew nothing about a World Bank study on poverty in Indonesia. It was not the custom, he was told, for Parliament to discuss such reports.

No water-tight guarantees

Meetings with representatives of human rights organisations proceeded as planned; the groups gave the Dutch minister petitions confronting him with clear examples of human rights abuses. The petition of the Institute for the Defence of Human Rights [see below] states that the Indonesian people are not allowed to complain about increasing violence by the government. IGGI aid benefits the government of Indonesia as it allows the authorities to collaborate closely with big business and to violate human rights with impunity. LPHAM director Princen called on Minister Pronk to link aid with respect for human rights.

Late in the evening of 13 April, Pronk went to the office of INFIGHT, the Indonesian Front for the Defense of Human Rights, where he was handed a 27-page document. The hard-hitting document addresses the question of human rights in a general sense and argues that the kind of development supported by IGGI has brought misery to many millions and has uprooted people from their land. The vast majority still live in poverty, unemployment is very high while the press is silenced in the name of economic stability. During the meeting, Pronk was introduced to victims of repression who told him about their sufferings. Pronk has promised to circulate the petition and other documents from these groups to the IGGI member states. [Extracts from this document are reproduced below.]

From the outset, Pronk's priority as far as human rights was concerned, was to prevent the six executions. On 9 April, he said he was sure that the suspension of aid had helped postpone the killings although he had not been given a firm guarantee by the government that the executions were definitely off. A day later Pronk announced a new international initiative aimed at preventing the Indonesian government from implementing the death sentences. EC countries and other states would be involved. So far no details are available but Pronk gave an assurance that the pressure on the Indonesian government would be stepped up. Initially Pronk said he would disclose more details of his diplomatic demarche by the end of the week but disappointed many by failing to do so. His promised demarche may have been delayed by the time needed to reach agreement in the Dutch cabinet and to secure the full collaboration of other IGGI or EC countries.

On his return home, Pronk went straight to the ten hunger-strikers and told them that although he had not been given a water-tight guarantee that the executions would not go ahead, he believed that the Indonesian authorities are listening carefully to the voice of the Dutch public. The hunger strikers decided to end their strike but pledged to continue their efforts and demands on future occasions in a different way.

London, 27 April 1990

Extracts from an interview of Minister Jan Pronk in Editor, 14 April 1990

Do you still intend to link aid with pleas regarding human rights?

The relationship exists and I do indeed link the two. This is the Dutch position although it is not raised in every discussion. It was the main topic of my conversation with Interior Minister Rudini but it wasn't mentioned at all during discussions with economics and finance ministers. They refer such matters to Foreign Minister Alatas. In my opinion, aid is closely linked with internal policies.

Does this means that political conditions are attached to aid?

If we speak about human rights matters, it is wrong to imply that political conditions are being attached to aid. Human rights are not political conditions, they are universal in nature.

Does this mean it is also possible to comment on the political situation in another country?

Social and economic policies, all aspects of a country's internal affairs, have for years developed alongside human rights policies. They have become universal, based on universal criteria. The concept of development and the development of human rights have gradually merged. They are two sides of the same coin. Development is not just a matter of economics. This is the angle I take when discussing human rights everywhere, including Indonesia.

Foreign Minister Hans van den Broek has said that no aid will be postponed. What does that mean?

In February, I postponed the signing of an agreement for part of the aid when the matter was still at the level of discussions between officials. This is what will be finalised this week. The finalisation of the signing of the agreement was postponed to give me the opportunity to include the human rights question in the discussions here. The signing of the whole packet was postponed because this is what Indonesia also wanted at the time.

So, what conditions will be attached to the signing of the agreement?

The non-regular aid [ie, special assistance] was postponed from our side firstly, to give the cabinet the chance to consult on the matter as events were moving very fast, and secondly, to give me the opportunity to handle it myself - so that the question would be dealt with not at the level of officials but at the political level. In other words, the minister in question - which means me - would discuss the relationship between aid and human rights. At the time, I did not propose any conditions. I intend to finalise the signing [of the agreement] at the end of this week.

Does Indonesia accept your line of argumentation?

That's not for me to judge. But one thing is clear; I understand their position and they understand mine. On the question of human rights, the Indonesian and Dutch governments do not see eye to eye. I am not trying to make light of the issue.

LEMBAGA PEMBELA HAK-HAK AZASI MANUSIA

No. 88/LPHAM/IV/90 17 April 1990

To: H.E. the Minister of the Netherlands
Development Cooperation
M. J.P. Pronk

Your Excellency,

Allow us to avail ourselves of the opportunity to bring the following points to your attention:

1. In the course of the decolonization process all over the world which took place in the 19th and 20th centuries, people thought freedom was of the highest priority in their development and that of their countries.

2. By the continuation of economic strings, both sides, the colonizer and the colonized, considered economic interests to be of the utmost important, despite the fact that cultural and religious aspects were sometimes forgotten.

In the decolonization period after World War II, attention towards the rights of man increased in the former colonies and in the colonizing countries as well. After the acceptance of the Declaration of Human Rights in 1948 by the members of the United Nations, the Declaration was considered as a guiding principle for nearly every country on this globe. Nearly all states recognised these rights of the individual citizens towards their own governments in their constitutions, as in the case of the Indonesian Constitution of 1945 which respects some rights for Indonesian citizens.

It is to be regretted however that important rights, such as the right of freedom of speech and the right to organize oneself, have been severely limited and restricted by other laws and regulations. The principle of the dual function of the military and the existence of the anti-subversion law eventually abolished most of the freedoms of Indonesian citizens, making it impossible for Indonesian citizens to utter their opinion about the ever increasing repression of the present government.

In Indonesia, it was and is possible that a president governs his country for 25 years on end without any practical control by the People's Constituent Assembly or Parliament, in which bodies actually the sovereight of the people is embedded.

It is indeed true that those matters are the internal affairs of countries involved and should be attended to and watched over by the people themselves.

But since the formation of the United Nations and the Helsinki Accords, violations of human rights and the respect being paid to them are no longer a matter of internal or national interest alone. It is very important to know whether other peoples are governed in democratic ways because only in a democracy can human rights be respected.

In the struggle for their freedom, thousands of Indonesians gave their lives. Sovereignty of the people was for them not an empty word or without signficance at all.

Impoverishment and poverty gave thought to radical changes with consequences which cannot be overseen yet. They can also be considered to be a part of the de-colonization process and it is therefore logical that former colonial states feel

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themselves responsible for difficult situations in their former colonies. We share the opinion that such an attitude could be in the interest of both parties. But in the case of Indonesia, it is doubtful who is profiting the most, the donors or the recipients, because most donors are so-called export economies, whose welfare is very dependent on the export of commodities and articles produced by them.

The maintenance of good market prospects must also reckon with the fact that prosperity can best be served by free market methods and democracy, including respect for human rights. By sponsoring development in Indonesia, certain human rights are promoted, but one must not forget that the present regime in Indonesia has only resulted in the reality that 80 per cent of the population in the villages is spending 80 per cent of their daily income on buying food essentials. That is the outcome of the trickle-down effect theory!

Is this the result of 25 years development acceleration and (5) five-year plans? It can be imagined that these disappointing facts are not very often mentioned in the reports of the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund and other international organizations. The effects of the 55 billion dollar debt of Indonesia, to be paid by later generations, are usually forgotten because present-day conglomerates and multi-national organisations profit from them.

IGGI aid is profitable to the government of Indonesia as it allows them to remain good friends with the entrepreneurs and to go on with the violation of human rights. This type of aid also makes it possible for all criticisms of corruption, nepotism and monopolism to be effectively silenced.

Reports from international human rights organisations like Amnesty International and Asia Watch clearly describe the real human rights situation in Indonesia and should be heeded before new decisions in connection with aid are made. These reports are no less important than those of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund which are very much dominated by the multi-national corporations.

We hope, Your Excellency, that you are equally aware that giving economic and financial aid to other countries cannot be separated from human rights situations. We trust that you will use this visit to explain this to the Indonesian authorities you are going to meet.

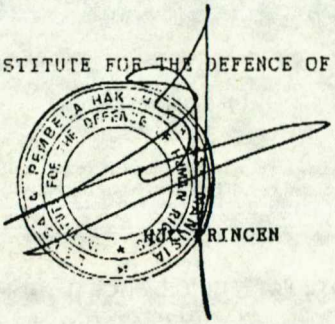
We dare place ourselves in the position of the Indonesian people who do not have the possibility to talk openly to you about repression and the violation of their human rights.

Last but not least, we hope also that you will address the Indonesian government about reviewing the death penalty still awaiting prisoners condemned thereto.

Your Excellency, please accept our most sincere thanks for your attention and goodwill.

Yours respectfully,

THE INSTITUTE FOR THE DEFENCE OF HUMAN RIGHTS



RINCEN

INDONESIAN NOTES for the 24th Session of IGGI

Presented at the People Meeting with Chairman of IGGI
Mr.J.P.Pronk
Jakarta, April 13,1990

INDONESIAN FRONT for the DEFENSE of HUMAN RIGHTS
(INFIGHT)

INDONESIAN NOTES for the 24th SESSION of IGGI

INFIGHT's STATEMENT

The 24th session of Inter-Governmental Group on Indonesia (IGGI) is approaching. The loan received by Indonesia from IGGI has increased dramatically from US$ 200 million in 1967 to US$ 4.3 billion in 1989. However, the increase of the loan amount should have been associated with the real facts that face the Indonesian people who are the main target of the loan itself. Those facts, through the visit of Mr. J.P. Pronk as the Chairman of IGGI, should be known and considered during the coming IGGI session. After almost a quarter of a century of IGGI loan, there are facts, which are not new any more, but needs serious considerations.

1. The situation of human rights is deteriorating and the meaning of human rights have been deviated. This can be seen from the numerous incidents of human rights violation in the form of intimidation, violence, arrest, imprisonment of citizens in carrying out their rights which are actually guaranteed by the Declaration of Human Rights. Several important events that can be cited are: "mysterious killings", Tanjung Priok incident, Lampung incident, and violent and bloody treatments towards students. This includes a series of violent and amoral conducts by members of the military and other law officers.
2. Although the political infrastructure appears to be developing, the democratic essence is actually deteriorating. Public institutions which guarantee access to political decision making and ownership of modes of production have reduced bargaining position. Until today, the floating mass concept is implemented, many House of Representatives (DPR) members are not elected by the people, the organisation and political rights, people rights to joint ownership of assets and infrastructure is very much oppressed.
3. While the rights to organising is limited, the only remaining opportunity, that is the freedom to expression and to differ in ideas, has also been oppresed. This is shown by the increasing forced firing due to

political reasons and banning of the press that continue until today. The press is dictated oleh every authority. The amount of cancellation of publication license is also increasing.

4. The prospect of democracy is not guaranteed as far as there is dual function of the military. The role of the military in politics make the implementation of people political rights next to impossible. Military dual function which is said to be temporary, gives no signs of being terminated, instead will be strengthened. After more than a quarter of a century of military dual function implementation, virtually all people political resources have been castrated. Numerous number of people who report their problems to the House of Representatives have been arrested and intimidated by military officials.

5. The persistent death penalty appears to be a threat not for crime doers and non-political civil law violaters; so far death penalty has been made a "spectre" in a repressive system especially to haunt political actors. The voices of anti-death penalty that are raised in the country have never been heard, even if they are a strong legitimation for the dismantling of death penalty. Death penalty has become a political show of force for the political interest itself and for economic gains to obtain funds from non-communist countries.

6. Through Anti-Subversive Acts which should have been dismantled since they are no longer relevant, the quantity of political prisoners is currently increasing. In addition, with various legal argumentations, people can be easily arrested, interrogated, imprisoned and tried without basis so that political prisoners can cover all sectors of the community considered as a threat to the positions of the authorities, including young generation such as university students.

7. Students and Universities have been treated as strategic targets for samples of repression, so that by oppressing students'/universities, it is hoped that the political dynamics among the younger generation and intellectuals can be controlled. Students trials in several cities such as Jakarta, Bandung, Yogya are not only an effort to castrate universities and students, but also to kill democratisation process. As generally known, Student Council is still banned in each and every university in Indonesia.

8. While "take off" development era is launched, appropriations of farmers' lands occur everywhere, mostly conducted by government officials, businessmen, as well as the military. Land appropriation has increased drastically and a majority of such incidents result in the decrease or total loss of farmers' livelihood. The cases include land disputes in Cimacan and Majalengka (West Jawa), Blangguan (East Jawa), Kedung Ombo (Central Jawa), and others.

9. While industrialisation is intensified, the bargaining position of labours is decreasing. The right to strike, minimal wages, health and welfare facilities are ignored. In addition, there are numerous cases of careless firings of workers, work without just contract, and "insufficient leave money". Slavery practices are still persistent towards worker in the form physical and sexual violence.

10. While the government gives space for the development of large capital which later gives rise to monopoly, oligopoly and konglomeration, weaker economic sectors are sistematically marginalised through violence a la military. This is shown through the eradication of street business enterprises and pedicabs (becak) in Jakarta without sufficient substitute livelihood, eradication of street vendors, closing down of traditional markets due to pressure from modern, large super markets, and continuing reduction of opportunities for small scale businesses.

11. Industrialisation and dependency due to cash flow of debt payments result in extractive methods of production. This causes severe destruction of natural resources in Indonesia in the form of deforestation due to logging, transmigration, dam construction, plantation development and tourism development. The people cannot control the process of utilization and conservation of resources in general and the forests in particular, since people rights are, in general, crushed. Indeed, environmental destruction is a burden of an unjust and exploitative social structure.

Pages 3 - 25 of the INFIGHT statement which is 27 pages long are not yet available. The last three paragraphs of the statement are as follows:

> The pattern of development supported by IGGI have uprooted millions of people from their birth lands. Kedung Ombo, Jatiwangi, Cimacan, Pulau Panggung, Badega, Sugapa and others are just few examples of marginalisation of people in Indonesia.
>
> For the sake of economic stability, required by the authorities as well as IGGI, the voices which try to explain and express the need for justice have been brutally silenced:
>
> - A critical discussion activity resulted in imprisonment of three students in Yogya
> - Students action in Bandung was accused as in contempt of the government and the participants were arrested, expelled from the campus and imprisoned.
> - Anti-Subversive Acts, an inheritance of the Dutch colonial rule, have been repeatedly used to crush students movement
> - A sterilized press only has good and successful stories to recount
> - Women organisations are steered so as not to voice out the needs of women from the lower sector of the community.
> - A repressive authority has castrated the creative power of the community through culture.
>
> For economic and political interests, the countries of IGGI, which Your Excellency, Mr. Pronk also represent here as its Chairman, have neglected the needs of our people to exist humanely. By approving the present development patterns of Indonesia and supporting them with funds, IGGI should be responsible for the pauperisation process that envelops millions of our people. We can only but appeal to the humanism of the people and the government of IGGI countries.
>
> Jakarta, 13 April 1990
>
> INFIGHT

The INFIGHT statement analysed in detail some of the most bitterly fought land disputes in Indonesia. The cases were illustrated by slides.

After the statement and slides had been presented, Pronk was introduced to villagers who are directly involved in some of these conflicts. One young villager asked Pronk: "Don't you realise that the aid you give reinforces these actions which violate human rights?" When Pronk said in reply, "I have seen many signs of progress here", his young interlocutor responded with, "Haven't you seen the evidence in the slides?"

Pronk told the meeting that he was grateful for the information from INFIGHT and promised to make it available to IGGI members. [*Tempo*, 21 April 1990]